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The
Activities and Organization
of
The Citizens' Committee
of One Thousand

In connection with

THE WINNIPEG STRIKE

MAY - JUNE, 1919

PRICE 25 CENTS

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Foreword

THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF ONE THOUSAND was formed in Winnipeg on the occasion of the declaration of a general Sympathetic Strike, commencing May 15th, 1919.

Called on the avowed issue of supporting the striking members of the metal trades, who could not agree with two of three principal employers, the strike grew into a deadlock which finally defied the constituted authority of the government of Canada, and provoked rioting on the streets of Winnipeg, in which blood was freely shed and lives were lost.

{ In its successive stages, the issues veered from the original ostensible purpose to the right of the police, firemen, postmen and other public employees engaged in maintaining vital public utilities to affiliate with a controlling labor body whose authority would supersede the oath of the individual to the Crown, then to the definition and general application of the principle of "Collective Bargaining," afterwards [to uncover the fact that some of the leaders, at least, of the strike were more concerned in setting up the Russian Soviet form of government in Canada than in settling any trades disputes, that an organized propaganda to incite Revolution in Canada was stalking under cover of this and other strikes, and fomenting them throughout the Dominion to this end; and finally, as stated, to a straight defiance of constituted authority and Government.] }

If any good to the people is to come out of this whole miserable business, and the course in which lives have been lost, the production and commerce of Canada disrupted, and that of the city almost totally stopped for a long period; in which thirty thousand people—about one-eighth of the total population of Winnipeg—were deprived of their means of livelihood; through which a group of agitators, after calling out the Trades Unions challenged our Government, it seems essential that the lesson of the strike must be speedily transmitted to all sections of the country; and that the sister cities and the rest of the Dominion, threatened with the same or similar danger from so-called Soviet Government, Bolsheviki and I.W.W. movements masquerading under the guise of labor, should know of the means and steps taken by the loyal citizens of Winnipeg to maintain in some degree the operation of the utilities of the city and the preservation of law and order therein.

Under the stress of circumstances this record is of necessity a hurried and unfinished one. Its record of the departmental activities of the Citizens' Committee was made at the end of the second week of the strike, when the responsibility upon the citizens of manning the public utilities was at its peak. Afterwards, as these utilities were permanently manned, either by

the return of striking workmen or the engagement of new staffs, the functioning of some of these departments lessened, and were gradually cut off.

Other necessities arose, which had to be provided for. For instance, no detailed report is made of the organization of the Volunteer Special Police Force, almost entirely composed of returned officers and men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and which at one time numbered over 1500 sworn officers, under military discipline. Nothing is said of the sacrifice of between two and three thousand citizens, who, having enlisted in the militia regiments for the period of the strike, were confined to barracks under arms, were called out at the risk of their lives in street warfare, and were kept away from their homes and their places of business for days and weeks at a time.

No section of this brief is devoted, either, to the work of the Executive of the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, nor its numerous select committees through which the entire effort of the committee was organized and carried forward, the pulse of the City's activity maintained, and the menace of Bolshevistic revolution uncovered and defeated. The Executive sat, in practically continuous session, through the entire period of the strike. In addition to the permanent departments outlined here, there was a standing legal committee, a committee to investigate and compute the cost to the community of the strike, a sub-section of the Publicity Committee having charge of the advertising and propaganda, and a committee on Permanent Organization, besides various special committees.

When for the second time all workmen were pulled from the milk and ice handling plants, the Citizens' Committee assisted the City in supplying volunteers to maintain a milk and ice service, whereby the largest creamery plant was operated as a common distributing centre, and milk and ice distributed daily from the City's public schools.

Throughout the strike, THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF ONE THOUSAND stood as an unofficial body, receiving its authority and inspiration from a constant and enthusiastic supporting body of the citizenship. At one time the committee listed over ten thousand men, actually enrolled in one department or another of its work. In no case did it supersede or override the nominal authority of any public department or private corporation. The volunteers it supplied did not **take over and administer**, but in every case **went in and assisted**, under the orders of the loyal heads of civic or governmental departments, or the ordinary management of any utility. The committee was frequently charged with holding back a settlement of the strike, and with forming within itself an obstacle in the way of settlement. The Committee early took its position, and frequently re-affirmed it. It stood at no time in the way of any legitimate effort to reconcile any industrial dispute or phase of industrial welfare which became an issue in the strike. It did everything in its power to the opposite end. It took a stand against the principle and theory of a sympathetic strike extending to public utilities and vital services. It stands for Law and Order, and firmly against bargain or compromise of any kind with Treason!

Activities of Citizens' Committee of One Thousand

On Thursday, the fifteenth day of May, 1919, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, an organization called the Central Strike Committee, having its Headquarters at the Trades and Labor Hall, Winnipeg, took upon itself the authority to paralyze the City of Winnipeg industrially and commercially. They called out on a sympathetic strike the workers in the following departments of the City: The Fire Department, the High Pressure Water Plant, the Health Department, including street cleaning, scavengers, etc., the Light and Power Department. They did not then call out the workers who manned the domestic water service.

They allowed the Police Force to remain on duty, but openly boasted that it was so allowed under instructions of the Strike Committee.

They called out the Telephone Operators in the Manitoba Government Telephone System.

They called out the Postal Workers and all the Employees in His Majesty's Post Office.

They called out all the workers in the bakeries and dairies of the City and their deliveries.

They called out all the caretakers and passenger elevator operators in all the office buildings and residential blocks of the City.

They called out workers in retail and wholesale establishments dealing with the necessities of life throughout the City.

They called out the carters and delivery men of these establishments and of the railways and express companies.

They called out the employees of the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company.

On the third day of the strike they succeeded in calling out sufficient workers in the newspapers to prevent publication of any paper in Winnipeg.

They called out sufficient telegraph operators to cut off communication from the outside world.

The pretext for this total paralysis of the City's life was an alleged dispute between the small body of workers in the City known as the metal workers and two or three individual employers, and the subterfuge used by the strikers was the question of the right of collective bargaining.

Almost a year ago to a day this same group of men conducted a somewhat similar, but not so extensive a movement, and the pretext used on that occasion was the right of the City employees to form a Union to be affiliated with the Trades and Labor Council.

Last year a number of public spirited citizens formed themselves into an executive committee called the "Citizens' Committee of One Hundred" and this committee dealt with the situation to the best of their ability. When the strike of this year was called it was immediately perceived that the very existence of the City itself and the lives of the citizens were in

jeopardy. On the evening before the strike took place at a public meeting called by the former Committee of One Hundred, a Citizens' Committee of One Thousand was formed to take steps to cope with the unprecedented crisis.

One of the first things that came before the Committee was the formation of a Volunteer Fire Brigade, to man all the Fire Stations in the City and afford proper protection to the lives of citizens. This organization was perfected and completed, obtained permission from the proper City officials and took charge of the various fire halls throughout the City contemporaneously with the withdrawing of the strikers.

The attention of the "Citizens' Committee" was next called to the appalling situation in the hospitals and to the danger which threatened the lives of young infants through the autocratic cutting off of the City's milk supply by the "Strike Committee."

Following this came an appeal from all parts of the City for bread. The best that could be secured at the moment was an arrangement with the Strike Committee for bread and milk deliveries to be resumed in limited quantities. The special conditions imposed by the strikers was that all bread and milk wagons should carry, to show their authority, a printed card with the words "Permitted by authority of the Strike Committee." This was probably the first official act of what the Citizens of Winnipeg now recognize was not an industrial strike but an attempt at Soviet Government—a challenge to constituted authority.

It was understood at the same time that the police were remaining on duty only "by authority of the Strike Committee," and that a force had been kept at the pumping stations, also "by authority" but instructed to reduce and hold the water pressure at 30 pounds (insufficient for delivery above the first floor of buildings, and insufficient for fire protection to any but small cottages).

The first difficulty that the Volunteer Fire Brigade had to contend with was false alarms. These were rung in maliciously and continuously throughout the day and particularly in the small hours of the night from all parts of the City. There was also the question of protection to the Volunteer workers who had manned the City's supply of High Pressure Water, which must always be available in the event of fire. The Mayor was appealed to for special constables, and it was found that he was confronted by the threat of the Strike Committee to immediately call out the City's entire police force if the Chief Magistrate of the City attempted to swear in any special constables.

At this period of the strike the great business life of the City was practically at a standstill, and in addition to the strikers many thousands of citizens, wishing to avoid violence, ceased business as a result of the intimidations of the strikers.

One paramount problem facing the Committee was further protection to the lives of the citizens and the maintenance of law and order. There being no militia, volunteers were immediately called for, and over night thousands of citizens made their way to recruiting stations, and within two

days an adequate military force of citizens from all walks of life had been established.

The weather being unusually warm for the time of the year, complaints poured in to the Committee from all sections of the City for water and ice. The water at 30 pounds pressure threatened the public health with epidemic, and the Medical Association were making demands that this state of affairs be immediately remedied. There was a shortage of fuel also in the homes of the citizens and in the hotels.

The first difficulty encountered was the threat that if the water pressure was raised the staff in charge (being under the control of the Strike Committee) would walk out. The second difficulty was that the pressure pumps were driven by generators operated by electric power, and in the event of this being interfered with, which was considered quite likely, the auxiliary steam plant would have to be manned and this would require a large staff of firemen, stokers and the necessary skilled engineers. Volunteer staffs were immediately got together and organized under competent engineers into three shifts of eight hours each. Formal demand was then made upon the Civic Authorities that the water pressure be restored to normal. This was officially ordered by the Mayor and Council and thereupon the staffs under the Strike Committee immediately walked out and the volunteers took charge under the direction of the City Engineer.

In the meantime it was recognized that if the Volunteer Fire Brigade was not going to be physically worn out at the instigation of the strikers who kept ringing in false alarms, the fire alarm boxes must be patrolled. An organization was immediately formed to protect more than 350 fire alarm boxes in the City.

Owing to the great number of unemployed on the streets, and to meet numerous requests from residents from all parts of the City, adequate night volunteer patrols were established in each ward for night duty.

On Saturday morning, May 17th, the Strike Committee making good their threat to suppress all newspaper publications in Winnipeg, ordered the pressmen of the three Winnipeg Dailies and all other publications to walk out, thus leaving the *Western Labor News* the only paper in the field. They also succeeded in intimidating a sufficient number of telegraph operators to desert their keys. This severed Winnipeg's last connection with the outside world.

This challenge to one of the bulwarks of our British Constitution, to wit, the freedom of the Press, was at once taken up by the citizens and *The Winnipeg Citizen* appeared on the streets for free distribution to all of the citizens of Winnipeg.

It will thus be seen that the crisis in Winnipeg involved something far greater than an industrial dispute. In calling out the fire brigade and the public health departments, and in reducing the normal water pressure to 30 pounds, thus creating discrimination in the distribution of water among the citizens, also in eliminating the high water pressure which is the only safe guard in the event of fire, thereby jeopardizing the safety of the lives and property of the citizens, the Strike Committee issued an open challenge

GOVERNMENT BY "AUTHORITY OF THE STRIKE COMMITTEE."

On the opposite page are shown facsimile reproductions of the infamous "Permission to Live" orders which emanated from the Labor Temple during the early days of the strike.

At the top is a reduced reproduction of the printed card "Permitted by Authority of the Strike Committee." During the first days of the strike these cards were posted at the doors of theatres where Union staffs remained on duty, at the doors of restaurants and other business houses. They were placed on carters' delivery wagons, ice, milk and bread wagons, and were even displayed on the service trucks of the City Light and Power Department. Each card so issued bore the stamp of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council.

The centre left-hand reproduction is one presented to the Manitoba Cold Storage Company. It tells its own story.

On the right hand side is produced a copy of the "order" as received by the Winnipeg Oil Company, Limited and issued to other oil companies. It should be noted that this order "permitted" farmers, the military, and health officers to secure gasoline.

At the bottom, signed by "H. G. Veitch, Food Com." under the stamp of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, is a note delivered to James M. Carruthers, General Manager of the Crescent Creamery Company, by a striker. This man having first been refused service by the Union employees of the Crescent Creamery Company, stated that he had obtained a permit at the Labor Temple after a considerable effort and a wait of hours. It has been stated that the sick wife for whom this milk was requested afterwards died. This "permit" was issued while certain striking employees of the Crescent Creamery Company Limited were still on restricted duty, also "By Authority of the Strike Committee."

These are samples of the scores and hundreds of similar "permits" which flooded the City of Winnipeg during the first three days of the strike.

PERMITTED BY AUTHORITY OF STRIKE COMMITTEE



*This entitles
T. J. Foster
to place in cold
storage canned eggs*



Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council

ALL WINNIEGERS
A. C. HAY
J. L. GIBSON
R. H. HARRISON, Secretary and Finance Agent
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, LABOR TEMPLS
Room 1010

Winnipeg, Man., May 19th 1917

To the Oil Companies Ltd.

Dear Sirs:-
Your communications of the 19th inst. to hand has received attention by the Strike Committee. I am instructed to forward you the decision of Committee on the matter of Coal Oil and Gasoline 1st. That all farmers be supplied with the necessary Coal Oil to meet their requirements.

2nd. That Military, Police, Doctors, Health Officers, and Hospital Care must be supplied with the necessary Gasoline for Professional Services.

3rd. That Chauffeurs in the industries which have permission to operate, must have special permit from the Central Strike Committee.

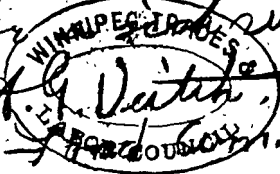
I am
Yours truly
Strike Committee.

*Received at Winnipeg Oil Co.
Office Monday May 19th.
at 1 p.m.*



*Mr. Brothers
Dear Sir
would be please to have
you give a sufficient
supply of special milk
to beaver for wife*

*H. G. Vaitch
LABOR COUNCIL*



to the City Council, who are the constituted authority delegated by the Government to control these utilities.

In calling out the Telephone operators of the Manitoba Government Telephones, the strikers clearly and openly defied the Provincial Government of Manitoba.

And finally, if there is any doubt as to their aims, they completely disrupted the Post Office and the Mail Service of the Dominion of Canada by causing His Majesty's mails for Winnipeg to be thrown off the trains at points East and West of that City, thus setting at nought the authority of the Dominion Government who have sole jurisdiction of the mails.

It is thus patent to every loyal citizen that what the citizens of Winnipeg were then facing is not an ordinary strike, but an attempt to transfer the reins of Government from the properly constituted authority to the Strike Committee at the Labor Temple.

If there is any grievance to be removed or any wrong to be righted, it is surely worthy of the protection of the law and the approval of all good citizens; if the strikers have a cause then it should be legislated upon in a properly constituted manner and not through the channels of Sovietism. We have not yet substituted the strike ballot for franchise.

The Executive of the Citizens Committee of One Thousand, after serious considerations, have unanimously passed the following resolutions:

- "Resolved that in the opinion of this Committee this strike has gone far beyond any dispute between the Metal Trades and other employers and their employees; and
- That the issue now involves the constitutional rights of the citizens at large; and
- That the Metal Trades and other employers be requested to leave their disputes in abeyance until the larger questions now involved in the general strike are disposed of."

This Committee at this time clearly realized that its first responsibility and duty was to take steps in the direction of restoring law and order; and that any dispute between one section of the trade and its employees must be a secondary consideration.

It was recognized that it was most important for the Committee to formulate a platform, and after due deliberation the following resolutions were passed, which really constitutes our Magna Charta:

1. "Resolved that this Committee is opposed to the principle of sympathetic strikes by employees in Public Utilities, Departments of Public Service, and those which affect the distribution of milk and food.
2. "That no employees who are members of Unions having affiliations with any outside organizations which purport to exercise authority over the employees in relation to their actions towards their employers should be employed or retained in the City Police Department, Fire

Department, Water Works Department, City Light and Power Department, Government Telephones or Postal Service.

3. "That this Committee, however, recognizes the right of any of such employees as so desire to form Unions or Associations among themselves, and to bargain with their employers as to wages and working conditions through their Committees without any interference whatever by any outside body which may affect their allegiance to their employers and the position of trust which they occupy towards the public, and also the right in the case of disagreement to appeal to a duly constituted Board of Authority."

A little explanation of the policy and aims of the Committee as set forth in the above Resolution may be of some assistance. First of all it is to be noted that in Resolution No. 1 the Committee confines itself in regard to sympathetic strike to certain definite Public Utilities or Quasi-Government Departments and those which affect life, such as milk and food. (It was felt that, in order to appeal to the rank and file of labor, which the Committee believes have been betrayed by those temporarily in authority at the Labor Temple,) it is necessary to make perfectly clear that there is no desire to deprive labor of its one weapon, "the strike."

Again the Committee wishes to state, and in no uncertain terms, that it had and has no desire to prevent the employees of Public Utilities and Quasi-Governmental Departments from forming Unions or Associations among themselves, provided that they are not permitted to affiliate with any outside body, whether represented in the Trades and Unions Council or otherwise, which would in any way affect their allegiance to their employers and to the public.

The Committee were also most determined that the every-day citizen who left his work and volunteered upon the fire or police brigade to protect life and property should never be called again to risk life and limb, in protection of the City, as a result of disloyalty on the part of the regular Fire or Police Department.

Desertion of the firemen was all the more flagrant because they had only recently accepted their schedule of wages with the City, binding until May, 1920, and the ink was literally hardly dry upon the agreement, when they treated the said agreement as a "scrap of paper" and deserted their posts.

The loyal citizens are most seriously in accord with the Committee that this shall never occur again, and it was unanimously resolved as follows:

"Resolved that this Executive Committee of One Thousand Citizens, who, when the City firemen abandoned their positions of trust were able to provide for the second time in twelve months a volunteer fire brigade, to protect the lives and property of our citizens, which volunteer brigade is composed of busy men who have done their duty at great personal sacrifice and have now been on duty for sufficient time to justify the City Council in immediately taking steps for the establishment of a permanent, loyal and efficient brigade, who may be

counted on to stay at their posts no matter what outside influence may try to persuade them to abandon their position of trust; do now request the City Council to at once organize such a brigade.

"This Committee is assured that the Volunteer men at work will remain on duty until they are relieved by a permanent force, but that this should not be unnecessarily delayed."

"Resolved that we as citizens of Winnipeg resent the action of the firemen and other employees of the City of Winnipeg (who are engaged in Public Utility Departments) in going out on a sympathetic strike, whereby the lives, health and property of our citizens have been greatly jeopardized. The action of our City firemen is especially to be condemned in view of the arrangements made last year by the City Council with the representatives of the firemen. We, therefore, while not presuming to dictate to our Civic authorities, urge upon the Mayor and Council of the City of Winnipeg that only such striking employees of the City should be taken back into the service of the City as are thoroughly efficient and are prepared to endorse the principles in the resolution, a copy of which is hereto attached."

The following are the resolutions passed respecting the loyalty of the leaders of the strike.

"Whereas it has become apparent to the citizens of Winnipeg, because of the prominence in the recent street demonstration of large numbers of aliens, that the alien problem must be dealt with immediately.

"And whereas citizens wearing the Union Jack have been publicly insulted by alien enemies who have dared to tear the flag from their breast.

"And whereas this strike, involving 30,000 workers as shown by published reports of the Strike Committee, to have been called on the authority of only 8000 affirmative votes.

"And whereas according to the records of Alien Enemy Registration Board there are about 27,000 registered alien enemies in the Winnipeg district.

"Therefore be it resolved that the Trades and Labor Council be called upon to immediately exhibit its records to a Board of Enquiry composed of representatives appointed by the Great War Veterans, the Imperial Veterans and the Army and Navy Veterans with authority to report its findings and recommendations so that the public may be informed:

1. "How many aliens and how many registered alien enemies are on the membership rolls of the Unions on strike.
2. "The exact number of alien enemies and aliens in each Union that voted for the general strike.
3. "The exact number of votes for and against the general strike cast by each Union.
4. "Why these total votes were pooled and a clear majority decided as sufficient to call a general strike."

"Whereas thousands of our returned boys are now in our midst and within a few weeks all of those remaining overseas will be home again.

"And whereas during the war thousands of undesirable aliens have been able to take advantage of the shortage of labor and have been occupying positions which should be immediately filled by our returned soldiers.

"Now therefore be it unanimously resolved that such aliens ought to be replaced as quickly as possible by our returned soldiers and all employers are hereby urged to take the necessary steps with that end in view.

"That the Trades and Labor Council and the Strike Committee should immediately place themselves on record before the public as to what action they propose to take in respect to the thousands of aliens now enrolled in their Unions who are walking our streets to-day as strikers."

These resolutions represent in concrete form what the Committee of One Thousand stands for, and they have received the endorsement and approval of the City Council as well as the Dominion and Provincial Governments.

By this time ultimatums had been issued by the Dominion and Provincial Governments to their employees to return to work.

The City Council at its regular meeting on the evening of the 26th, passed the following resolutions in regard to its employees, including the firemen:

Moved by Ald. A. H. Pulford, seconded by Ald. H. Gray:

1. "That the head of each Department of the Civic Service furnish forthwith to the City Clerk of the City Council a complete list of all employees in each of their respective departments who went on strike May 15th or subsequently.
2. "That all the employees whose names are furnished as aforesaid be notified forthwith that, as they had vacated their positions and hereby cancelled their contracts of hiring with the City, their services in the Civic Service is at an end and positions vacated will be forthwith filled.
3. "That the city clerk forthwith notify the heads of each of the Departments that on and after Thursday next they are to receive applications to fill the positions vacated as aforesaid, subject to the following conditions, and such others as may be imposed upon Council.
4. "Each applicant shall sign an undertaking that he will be loyal to the City and will, under no circumstances, participate in any manner in a sympathetic strike."

Moved by Ald. J. K. Sparling, seconded by Ald. F. O. Fowler:

"Whereas, an agreement dated the first of May, 1919, was entered into between the City and the Winnipeg Firemen's Federal Union, Local No. 14; whereby all differences existing between the Firemen and the City have been satisfactorily adjusted;

"And whereas, on the 15th of May, 1919, a strike was declared and the Firemen of the City went on strike in sympathy with the said strike, although they had no grievance of their own warranting them to strike;

"And whereas, the said Firemen broke their contracts of hiring and said contracts of May 1st, 1919, knowing that the probable consequence of so doing would be to endanger human life, or to cause serious bodily injury or to expose valuable property, real or personal, to destruction or injury;

"Now, therefore, be it resolved:

1. "That no Union or Association shall exist among Firemen of the City of Winnipeg which is directly or indirectly in affiliation with any organization whose orders or commands it may be subject to obey, or to whose orders, recommendations or request the said Union may yield or conform.
2. "The supreme governing body of the Fire Brigade shall be vested in the Council, and in the Council alone, whose orders the members of the said Brigade shall at all times obey.
3. "Every person applying for a position on the Fire Brigade of the City of Winnipeg shall sign an application agreeing that in no case shall he go on strike until the differences existing between him or any Firemen's Union or Association to which he may belong has been arbitrated, and a *bona-fide* attempt made at adjustment, and that no strike shall be declared at any time until after thirty days' notice to the City; and, further, in no event shall he go on, or favor, or support what is known as a sympathetic strike."

During the ensuing two weeks, while the strike continued in Winnipeg, the following changes in the situation took place:

1. Postal Service Resumed—Upon the expiration of the date of the ultimatum issued by the Dominion Government to the post office employees the postmaster proceeded to employ a new postal staff; some of the former employees returned, but the staff for the most part is new, most of the new employees being returned soldiers lately arrived in Winnipeg. The Post Office and mail wagons were guarded by the R.N.W.M.P., and a resumption of the mail service was effected. It has taken the post office some time to distribute the accumulated mass of mail and delivery to all parts of the City has been slow, and has been somewhat delayed in getting organized, but at this date the postal service is again approaching normal.

2. Firemen Return to Work—A number of the firemen signed the City's individual application agreement and returned to their posts. As soon as sufficient men returned the principal fire hall was manned by them, and as more men returned and new firemen were employed, the other halls were gradually vacated by the volunteer fire brigade and manned by permanent employees. At this date only two of the fifteen fire halls in the City are required to be manned by volunteers.

3. Civic Office Employees Return—Practically all of the clerks and office employees in the various City Departments who went on strike on May 14th returned to their posts, signed the required application and were

reinstated by June 10th. Outdoor laborers employed by the City in the street cleaning, scavenging and other departments, water works, etc., being still on strike.

A certain number of employees also gradually returned to numerous private employers throughout the City. The larger groups of unionized labor, however, remain on strike.

4. The Police Situation—The Police Commission was served on May 14th with notice signed by the Secretary of the Trades and Labor Council, who is also an Alderman of the City, and attested by the Secretary of the Policemen's Union, formally declaring the Policemen's Union on strike from 11 a.m., May 15th. The Policemen, however, did not quit work, and it was openly boasted by the Central Strike Committee that they had ordered the Policemen to stay on duty, and that the Policemen's Union was remaining on duty "By Permission of the Strike Committee." Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by the Citizens at what was considered laxity of the Police in maintaining order in the various demonstrations incident to the Strike.

On the 29th day of May the Police Commission served an ultimatum on the policemen demanding that they sign a form of agreement substantially the same as that presented to the other civic employees, and that on failure to sign by a specified date and hour they would be dismissed. The Policemen's Union objected to the form of this agreement and negotiated with the Police Commission through a Committee. At the request of the police the date of expiry of the ultimatum was twice extended.

5. Volunteer Police Force Organized—During the interval of negotiation between the Police Commission and the Committee from the Policemen's Union, while the police were still nominally on duty, volunteers in great numbers, chiefly returned soldiers, tendered their services to the City as special constables, and on Saturday, June 7th, and Monday, June 9th, over 1,500 men, 98 per cent. of whom were returned soldiers, were sworn in as special policemen.

On Monday, June 9th, the time of the ultimatum having expired, the entire police force was dismissed by the Police Commission and the Chief Constable ordered to recruit a new police force. Volunteer policemen immediately took up the duties of protecting the City. On Tuesday afternoon, June 10th, a serious riot occurred at the corner of Portage Avenue and Main Street, in which missiles were freely thrown and the City's principal corner blocked for over three hours, a score of people injured, six of whom at least were taken to the hospitals for treatment, slight damage to property done, and at least one man, Sgt. Fred Coppins, V.C., dragged from his horse while momentarily isolated and clubbed, kicked and beaten by a gang. Sgt. Coppins was at first thought to be mortally wounded but is now recovering. Several bones were broken. (He and other eye-witnesses declared his assailants were foreigners, evidently of alien enemy

extraction, and practically all of the damage done in the riot was correctly ascribed to this class of people.)

The riot was finally quelled by the arrival of a large mounted force of the special policemen.

Prior to, during the time of this riot and subsequently a large force of the R.N.W.M.P. were standing by ready for instant service. The Militia Regiments in the City, having been recruited to full strength, were standing at arms in barracks awaiting orders of their superior officers. It was and is the opinion of the Citizens' Committee and citizenship generally that prompt and vigorous action should have been taken upon the occasion of the riot, the Riot Act read and the services of the Military called in to assist the civil authorities in maintaining order.

The following day, Wednesday, June 11th, the Chief Constable, Donald McPherson, was dismissed by the Police Commission, and the Deputy Chief, Chris. Newton, made Acting Chief of Police. On the same afternoon, June 11th, a smaller riot took place on the corner of Main Street and Higgins Avenue, two police being attacked by a large group of enemy aliens, and one of these men, S. T. Morrison, was badly beaten and thrown to the ground. Other special constables came to the rescue of these men in a motor car, and one of the constables observing a rioter in the act of beating one of the attacked men drew a revolver and fired, the bullet lodging in the leg of Constable Morrison, causing a painful but not dangerous wound. Subsequently the special police were taken off the streets so far as active patrolling of the downtown streets was concerned, although numbers of them in plain clothes circulated in the crowds.

Federal Government Arrests "Red" Leaders

On Tuesday, June 17th, ten men, including five conspicuous leaders in the strike, were arrested in Winnipeg by the Dominion Government. At the same time a quantity of Bolshevistic literature and other documents were seized.

On Saturday, June 21st, Senator Gideon Robertson, Dominion Minister of Labor, authorized the publication of some of the incriminating documents seized.

The statement is as follows:

"That the thousands of well-intentioned but misinformed and misled working people now on strike in Winnipeg, together with all others concerned, may be fully informed, it is proper that authentic information concerning the cause of the sympathetic strike should be given.

Among the incriminating documents procured at the Labor Temple in Winnipeg on Monday night last was a letter addressed to Mr. R. B. Russell, dated March 24th, which reads in part as follows:

I have heard from Calgary that you have the convention written up in the paper which you are issuing for the railroad workers. I am wanting to get some of these papers for distribution among the railroad men in this city, and if you have any on hand, send them to me at once, and enclose the bill. I do not know how many will be needed in the city; you will have more of an idea as to how many railroad men there are here than I have. . . .

I have been asked by some of the railroad men here if it is possible to bring you West to address a meeting of the railroad organizations here. If you can do this let me know; the provincial committee will stand all the expenses. I just got in a shipment of Bolshevik funds for this purpose. We are getting out a One Big Union Bulletin. It will be off the press in a few days, and I will send you a few. . . . Let me know when you will have anything more out on the O. B. U. and the conference, so that I will be able to get in an order for the Provincial Committee. If you can write an article for our Bulletin to the railway men it will be a great help to us, because there is really a lot of work needed to be done among them.

"To this communication, Mr. Russell sent the following reply on March 31st:

Your letter of interest, dated March 24th, to hand, and in reply let me congratulate you on your activities and success up-to-date.

I note your remarks re paper containing report of convention—the paper you refer to is the Western Labor News—they have made arrangements to publish verbatim report of convention. I have also arranged with the Central Committee to have an extra

20,000 copies published and distributed to the three western provinces, and will mail your bundle next Friday at the very latest.

The paper I issue goes to every railroad man, and contains all kinds of matter re One Big Union, so will not cost you boys anything as we issue 16,000 per month, and each man gets a copy free.

I note the substantial financial aid you are receiving, and no doubt it will be needed to carry on our propaganda. The eastern end of the country is where we should put in a lot of work.

I will be pleased to write an article for your Bulletin, and will particularly address my remarks to the railroad men. Will send same on at an early date.

Yours for the change,

(Signed) R. B. RUSSELL

"At a conference yesterday morning attended by Commissioner Perry, of the R.N.W.M.P., A. J. Andrews, K.C.; Mayor Gray and the Minister of Labor, the above information was given to a delegation of five members from the Strike Committee, who had previously denied any knowledge of the One Big Union movement's connection with the sympathetic strike.

"Inasmuch as 'Bolsheviki funds' were being used to distribute literature referring to the One Big Union and the Calgary convention, and that this literature was being printed by the *Western Labor News* at Winnipeg, which paper is published by the Strike Committee at the Winnipeg Labor Temple, as indicated upon the paper itself, it should not be difficult to understand the connection between the motive behind the Winnipeg sympathetic strike and Bolshevism. It is undoubtedly true that most of the members of the Strike Committee, and a very large majority of the working men now on strike, have been misled, and have been used as pawns by those directly behind the One Big Union movement, which is being promoted with revolutionary intent.

Russell Voices Views

"For the purpose of removing any doubt as to the element in control of the Trades and Labor Council, the following extract from a letter written by Mr. Russell to a "comrade" on January 30th, 1919, may be quoted.

The letter in part reads:

Following my night letter regarding the Winnipeg situation, I will give you an outline of the happenings. At the last Trades and Labor Council meeting we had a great victory and killed the Labor party for sure. We had another mass meeting called for last Sunday, to discuss the causes of the German revolution, under auspices of the party.

Your letter with due stamps and charter applications received, also due books received under separate cover with copies of Soviets at Work and bill for M.P.E. indebtedness, which I will take up and remit cheque to cover same in a day or two.

They realize that we have pretty nearly got control of the Trades and Labor Council, and believe me, when we get it, we will use it to our advantage.

I see the Duke of Devonshire is reported in last night's paper as saying that "Bolshevism requires dark and hidden places in which to flourish, and if taken in time and dealt with in the proper manner, it can be outrooted." If his statement is correct, the actions of the authorities in attempting to drive us to dark and hidden corners is in our best interests.

If you send us down 500 copies of the Soviets at Work, we will get them out amongst the soldiers and see if it helps.

With best wishes to yourself and the Comrades of the D.S.C.

Yours for Socialism,

P.S.—Good reports from Toronto and Montreal—will send them later.

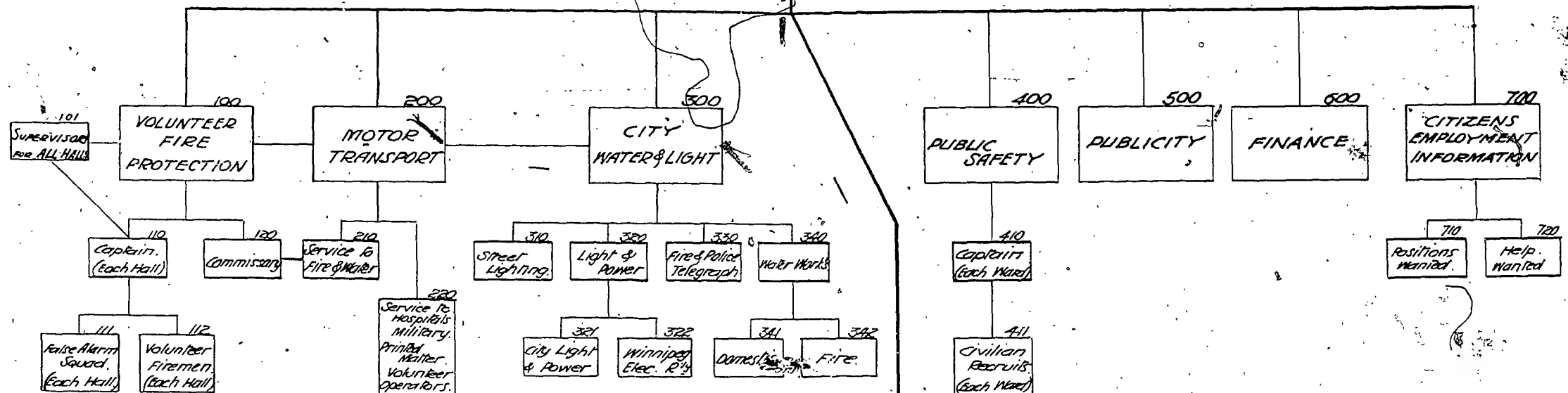
[From the foregoing it is impossible for any loyal citizen to avoid the conclusion that the "One Big Issue" is not now or never has been a dispute between employer and employee, but is the "One Big Union," or in other words a carefully planned attempt to overthrow our constitution and to replace it by a form of Soviet Government planned and fashioned by I.W.W.'s after the Government of Lenine and Trotsky.) This, in short, is the ideal of the "One Big Union" as announced at a Western Labor Convention held in Calgary early this year. These principles are absolutely opposed to Trade Unionism, and if allowed to succeed will set Trade Unionism back for twenty-five years and deprive Labor of many valuable principles for which it has struggled for many years.

Feeling as we do that this is nothing less than Bolshevism that has raised its ugly head, it is the duty of loyal citizens to band themselves together and see to it that the principles for which our Government stands are not trampled under foot, and wherever this vile serpent appears hit it and hit it hard.

ORGANIZATION OF WINNIPEG CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF 1000

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

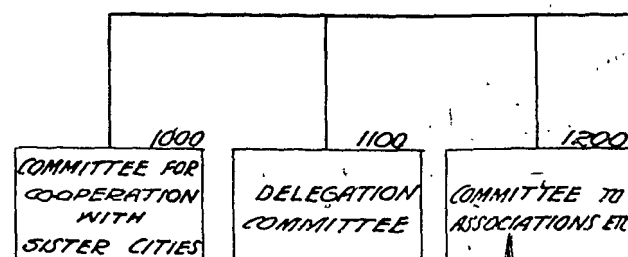
DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC SERVICE (VOLUNTEER)



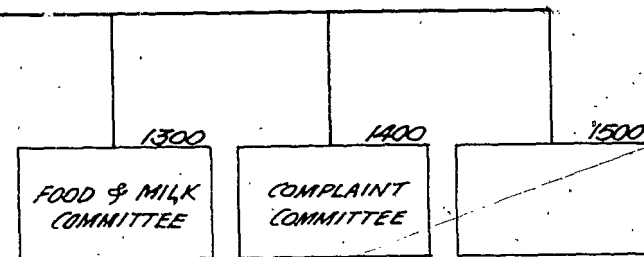
NOTE:-
Organization (from
captain down) in
Each of 12 Fire
Halls.

NOTE:-
Organization
(from Captain down)
in each Ward.

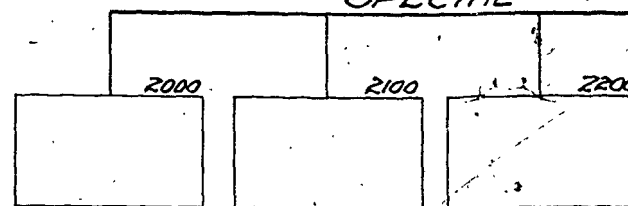
STANDING



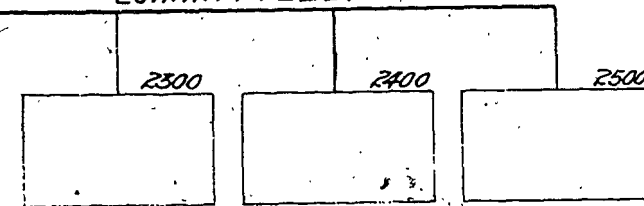
COMMITTEES.



SPECIAL



COMMITTEES.



Departmental Service Organization

DEPARTMENT No. 100

CITIZENS' VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT

Captains and Crews Selected—A Chairman was appointed and the names of those present were taken and Captains were appointed for each of the eleven fire halls which it was decided to man with volunteers. The Captains immediately selected crews, whose numbers were further increased later on and left the meeting in time to man the eleven fire halls before the striking firemen had left the premises.

Commissary Dept. Organized—Having installed the volunteers, the restaurants in Winnipeg being closed, the Fire Committee arranged to place the catering for the volunteer fire force in capable hands and opened up a Commissary Dept., which served meals to the volunteers in all the halls and midnight lunches nightly to all those on duty. In addition to feeding the fire hall forces, the Commissary Dept. also provided food for the volunteers on duty at the high-pressure plant on James St., and for the volunteer employees in the water works pumping stations on McPhillips Street.

Supervision of Halls—Each fire hall is in charge of a volunteer Chief. Each hall is visited each day by a supervisor; three of whom, make the round of the eleven halls to keep in touch with the needs of the men and the condition of the hall and apparatus. In addition to the personal touch of the Supervisor, there has been continuous telephone communication through private telephone switchboard of the Fire Department from No. 1 fire hall to each of the other ten halls that have been in operation.

Committee Headquarters—The Fire Committee maintains its office at the Board of Trade Building and two of the three permanent members are on continuous duty from 8 a.m. until midnight. Volunteers register at this office and are assigned to service at some particular hall. At this office, also, any changes in the personnel of the volunteer members of each hall are reported so that new recruits may be supplied.

Service Car Supplied—In addition to the volunteer firemen manning the apparatus of each hall, there is on duty a service car, which is a private automobile manned by volunteers and which is sent out from No. 1 fire hall in response to alarms from any part of the City for the purpose of rendering assistance, investigating false alarms and for the purpose of saving the wear and tear on the fire apparatus (especially horses on horse-drawn apparatus) in the case of false alarms. Many false alarms were sent in the first few days after the strike began.

Fire Boxes Patrolled—A large number of the fire boxes are patrolled by citizen volunteers under the committee looking after the service, which is not under the immediate supervision of the fire committee.

Competent Volunteers—The committee secured competent volunteers to drive and operate the apparatus and they have already been put to the test in the extremely dangerous fire in buildings adjacent to the Hudson's Bay Company stores on Friday, May 23rd, when one of the most hazardous risks in Winnipeg, a large frame Skating Rink with shingle roof, caught fire from flying sparks from a nearby stable and was put out by the volunteers before extensive damage was done.

Transportation of Volunteers Arranged—The volunteer captains in the various halls have worked out the details of their shifts and the time when they change. It is the duty of the Fire Committee however to provide transportation for the purpose of getting all the volunteer men back and forth from their homes to the fire hall and from the fire halls to the central dining room where the Commissary Committee is carrying on. This is necessary because the street cars have been tied up ever since the strike began.

May 29, 1919.

DEPARTMENT NO. 200

MOTOR TRANSPORT ORGANIZATION

Chairman, who is also member of the Executive Committee.

A Vice-Chairman.

Secretary.

Assistant-Secretary.

Executive Committee of Ten.

- (a) A fleet of sixty cars, affording transportation for Fire Department, High Pressure and Pumping Station. This is divided into three shifts in charge of three captains, who report direct to the chairman.
- (b) Citizens' Auxiliary Transport Division of seven hundred cars, divided into one hundred units of a Captain and six men to a unit. Captains meet every morning at 11 o'clock for instruction and information, which they in turn impart to their men at various meeting points before 12.30. Assembly points throughout the entire City have been designated, to which the Captains would hurry their teams in the event of a general alarm, where they would place themselves under military orders, conveyed to them through their Supervisors.

We also have an Army Transport Unit of twelve cars.

This organization of 712 cars is sub-divided and scheduled for daily service in connection with:

- (1) Transporting volunteer operators to and from the Telephone Exchanges.
- (2) Taking care of Hospital requirements.
- (3) Distributing of the *Daily Citizen* and propaganda.

- (4) Delivery of mail.
- (5) Transporting of military headquarter staff and employees, between homes, headquarters and barracks.
- (6) Transporting of Citizen Soldiers to and from barracks daily, also transportation of soldiers between barracks and designated points, and of returned men from the incoming trains to the barracks and their respective homes.

Reports from the above are made direct to the Chairman through their sub-chairman.

Our organization was acquired by the Chairman hurriedly calling together a small number of automobile owners on whom he could depend, when after explaining the situation to them, they obtained the services of other car owners, who in turn were put to work in the same manner.

All our men are attested.

All military orders must be in writing.

May 29, 1919.

DEPARTMENT No. 300

CITY LIGHT AND POWER

Domestic Water Service—The domestic supply of water for the City of Winnipeg is pumped electrically under normal conditions. The power supply is dependent on the operation of the City Light and Power Department. As it would be quite easy to interfere with the latter department's operation, the emergency steam plant had to be kept in readiness to operate. Steam pressure has been maintained on the boiler, ready to operate the steam plant in case of emergency. The superintendent of the plant and the City Engineer have been loyal to the City, and remained on duty. Three shifts of men, however, have been provided to keep the plant operating. Three emergency crews, of eight men each, are on duty, on eight hour shifts, beginning 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. and 4 p.m. to midnight, and from midnight to 8 a.m. In order to facilitate co-operation between the men on each shift and to facilitate the picking up of men (sufficient for each shift) crews were obtained from individual companies' employees. In putting the emergency crews into operation, it was necessary to notify the man in charge of each gang to report at the time his shift began. He was held responsible for the delivery of his men to the plant. The employers in each case were faithful to their duties, and no trouble has occurred in obtaining the necessary men, and in having them report promptly for duty.

High Pressure Plant—The High Pressure Plant required three shifts of twelve men each, which were obtained from volunteers. Highly technical men were put in charge of each shift, each directing the work of the volunteers under him.

Winnipeg Electric Railway—As the car service of the Winnipeg Electric Railway has been abandoned, only such sub-stations were required to be operated as were necessary to supply commercial power, street lighting and domestic lighting, except on the Winnipeg, Selkirk and Lake Winnipeg line which has continued operation. On account of there being few rotating machines necessary for the service, few men were required. Sufficient were obtained from the staff of the Railway Company who were not unionized, such as superintendents, inspectors and permanent engineers. Arrangements were made by the Company to board the operators at the various sub-stations.

City Light and Power—The Power Superintendent, together with the help of a couple of volunteer engineers are all that is required to keep this system in operation. At the Point Du Bois Plant, the Superintendent and his assistant are operating the Plant satisfactorily, where sixteen are regularly employed.

Street Lighting—The Street Lighting Superintendent, with the assistance of the operating engineers, are taking care of the trimming of street lights and their operation.

Fire and Police Telegraph System—There are but two operators on the Signal System. The City Electrician is operating the plant on the all-night shift, while the Chief Operator is continuing the operation during the day shift.

Emergency Crews—Emergency crews are organized for the operation of the Steam Plant of the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company, in case the Generating Station or Transmission line are interfered with. These gangs are registered on the files of the organization, so that in case of emergency they can be notified and taken immediately to the works. This arrangement is accomplished through the co-operation of the Transportation Department.

An Emergency Line Gang is also organized for the repair of distribution lines in case they are interfered with by rioters.

May 29, 1919.

DEPARTMENT No. 400

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY

Organization—The first duty of the Department of Public Safety was to appoint in each ward of the City a Captain or Chairman, then to immediately surround him with ten representative citizens, who in turn each chose ten others, giving a total of say One Hundred men in each Ward. The Ward was then sub-divided into Blocks of about four Streets square and in each square a sub-captain was appointed.

Duties—

- To patrol all streets.
- To patrol fire alarm boxes.
- To patrol hydrants.
- To guard private and public properties.
- To generally assist the constituted authorities in maintaining law and order.

Object—

- To mould public opinion.
- To correct wild rumors.
- To be prepared in case of emergency to give general alarm.
- To act as the medium for calling emergency meetings on short notice.
- To report all matters affecting his District.

Results—

- A very material reduction in the number of false alarms from fire signal boxes was affected.
- Military Authorities were enabled to use our meetings for recruiting purposes.
- A general feeling of safety and security was engendered on the part of the Citizens, especially women.
- A general awakening to a fuller responsibility of Citizenship has taken place.

May 29, 1919.

DEPARTMENT No. 500

PUBLICITY

When the Strike Committee sent out its decree that the public newspapers should be suppressed (and they were obliged to cease publication), the Citizens realized the necessity of having some means of informing the public of the issues involved in the strike and keeping the Citizens in touch with what was being done.

A Publicity Committee was appointed, which engaged the services of a competent editor, and arranged for the issue of a paper called *The Winnipeg Citizen*, which is a neat four-page publication. As the pressmen were all out on strike it was necessary to devise other means of printing the paper, which was done. A great deal of speculation has been indulged in by the Strike Committee as to where the paper is printed, but so far they have not discovered that, or if they have they have not been allowed to interfere with it.

The Strike started on Thursday, May 15th, 1919, the first issue of the *Citizen* came out on the 16th, and it has been issued daily ever since, with the exception of Sundays. It has provided a valuable means of keeping

the people of Winnipeg in touch with what the Citizens Committee are doing, and of the issues involved in the strike. The Transportation Committee of the Citizens Committee provided the principal means of distribution of the paper; all articles appearing in the paper are submitted to the publicity committee for approval.

May 29, 1919.

DEPARTMENT No. 600

FINANCE

A Committee of three was appointed as a Finance Committee, for the purpose of collecting from all good citizens and all business concerns a sufficient sum of money to defray the necessary expenses in connection with conducting and carrying on all public utilities, which has to be done by volunteer service, and also for the purpose of defraying necessary expenses in maintaining law and order.

Owing to the fact that there were a large number of volunteer employees of the Fire Brigade and of other Departments, the need for accident insurance and compensation was felt to be a real one. It was found impossible owing to the disruption of the telegraph service to get any rate for insurance. The Finance Committee, therefore, met, and after considering the matter arranged to obtain a guarantee from the various business firms and organizations in the City undertaking to be liable for the amount set opposite their respective names.

Arrangement was then made with the Banks; two gentlemen were appointed a Compensation Board, with full authority to compensate and pay all claims and adjust all losses, etc.

The form of the guarantee was in the words and figures following:—

"To.....Bank.

For the purpose of establishing the Citizens' Committee Compensation Fund each person, firm or corporation signing hereunder does, for himself, themselves or itself individually, irrevocably agree to pay to the said Bank on demand such sums or sums as may be drawn from the said Bank byor the successors of them on the Compensation Board of said Committee at any time hereafter, liability being limited to the amount set opposite our respective names.

The liability of each signer hereof is unconditional. Where this is signed in any representative capacity due authority is warranted by the persons signing. Any other person similarly signing constitutes consideration irrespective of the actual making of any advances.

Dated at Winnipeg the.....day of May, A.D. 1919.

May 29, 1919.

DEPARTMENT No. 700

THE CITIZENS' EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION BUREAU

This Bureau was not formed until a week of strike conditions had elapsed. With the opening up of the Post Office it was thought that a number of volunteer workers in various departments would be required to return to their regular employment, to attend to correspondence, fill orders, etc., and the first duties of this Bureau were to solicit all sorts of volunteer help but especially from those not regularly employed. Further, any wanting permanent work are being registered.

The Bureau is in charge of a Secretary and cards are written for each applicant for work. These cards are filled so that if a sudden demand arises for workers, a list will be immediately available. It is expected that the Bureau will record data regarding workers who went on duty prior to the formation of the Bureau, and keeping touch with the demand for workers will urge upon business houses whatever degree of necessity may exist from time to time that they should continue to spare their employees for the public service.

In order to secure volunteers, we have got in touch with the officers of a number of women's organizations, who are getting cards completed. Steps have also been taken to mobilize students on vacation and the *Winnipeg Citizen* will urge people to register.

The Committee in charge of this Bureau is of the opinion that more effective work could have been done if it had been organized at an earlier date.

May 29, 1919.

A Memorandum of Reference When a Breach of the Peace is Occurring or Apprehended

The Duty of—

The Citizen.
The Soldier.
The Justice of the Peace.
The Magistrate.
The Mayor.
The Deputy Sheriff.
The Sheriff.
The Judge.
The Provincial Government.

N.B.—This was primarily prepared for use in the Province of Manitoba and should be checked over if used in any other Province.

In Case of Tumultuous Assemblies, What is the Duty of—

The Citizen,
The Soldier,
The Justice of the Peace,
The Magistrate,
The Mayor,
The Deputy Sheriff,
The Sheriff,
The Judge,
The Provincial Government?

Tumultuous Assemblies—

A breach of the peace has always been an offence against British Law, for which a citizen, as well as a constable, may always apprehend the offending parties.

It is the duty of every citizen, not only to aid a constable when called upon, but also himself, in so far as possible, to prevent a breach of the peace, and to so conduct himself as not to cause a breach of the peace.

There may be apprehension of injuries to be caused by a breach of the peace, but yet which do not proceed directly and intentionally from the individuals: they proceed rather from a multitude of persons who profess to be engaged in some common purpose pointing, perhaps, to another direction. Such are unlawful and tumultuous assemblies, riots and affrays which are not directly aimed at any one of the by-standers and yet that tend more or less inevitably to bring the same kind of intimidation and terror to bear upon him as if he were.

The injury and interference to one or more individuals is the same;

but those engaged in the proceeding, being intent upon another object, bring about their evil effects in a somewhat more circuitous way.

The peaceably disposed citizen is, however, equally wounded and made uneasy in the enjoyment of his security.

Though wide toleration is now allowed by law to the meetings of citizens to discuss and deliberate on affairs in which they take an interest, yet there may be large meetings held with a view to INTIMIDATE particular persons or classes, and to COERCE the latter into doing something which otherwise is not likely to be done.

A meeting for the purpose of discussing and entertaining propositions relating to the public government of the country will be unlawful if it tends directly to supersede the form of government already constituted.

When a meeting entertains designs of coercing the Executive Government, and these have the effect of terrifying individuals and disturbing seriously their occupations, such meeting becomes unlawful.

An Unlawful Assembly is—

An assembly of three or more persons, who, with intent to carry out any common purpose, assemble in such a manner, or so conduct themselves when assembled.

As to cause persons in the neighbourhood of such assemblies to fear on reasonable grounds that the persons so assembled will disturb the peace tumultuously or will by such assembly needlessly and without reasonable occasion provoke other persons to disturb the peace tumultuously.

Persons lawfully assembled may become an unlawful assembly if they conduct themselves with a common purpose in such a manner as would have made their assembling unlawful if they had assembled in that manner for that purpose.

A Riot—

[Is an unlawful assembly which has begun to disturb the peace tumultuously.

What distinguishes an unlawful assembly from a riot is the extent to which the common purpose has been carried out.

If the common purpose has not gone further than the mere tumultuous assembling together, and rests only in intention, it is an unlawful assembly; if some further intermediate step, though not yet amounting to an overt act, has been taken—as for example, the movement of the crowd towards the intended scene of operation, has begun—but still no further overt act has yet actually been done, it used to be called a “rout,” but, as is said by Crankshaw, that would now be a “Riot.”

If some overt act has begun towards the carrying out of the purpose of the design, and is in course of execution, it is then called a riot.

The mutual confederation and agreement in one design is that which distinguishes a riot from an affray. For when a large crowd is collected,

and one or two suddenly quarrel and fight, this amounts only to an affray between those immediately engaged, and does not necessarily implicate the rest of the by-standers.

An affray thus differs from a riot in the want of premeditated and common design; and while several persons must concur in order to constitute a riot, yet the mere incitement to a riot is (under the English Law) of itself an indistable offence.

It is the duty of the loyal citizens to avoid crowds and public meetings where the tendency may be to create an unlawful assembly or a riot.

These are species of offence in which persons may be involved almost without knowledge or premeditation: hence, whenever a person joins a crowd which is acting riotously or which, while he is there, may commence to act riotously, it is his duty to depart with the least possible delay, as his presence is presumably an encouragement, and at least goes to swell the number and inspire terror to third parties: and so the burden of proof is thrown on him, if he be found in the crowd, to prove that he was an involuntary associate: and then there is the danger which may happen to him in case of a clash with constituted authority.

It is a rule of law that all who are members of a riotous crowd are principals. *Prima facie* what each does, although perhaps on the spur of the moment, is deemed to be impliedly authorized by all the rest. It becomes an ambulatory partnership for the time being that binds all together in one common liability and makes each answerable for the wrongful acts and mischief done by the others.

If riotous speeches are made, the speakers are guilty of what follows, although they may have retired before the actual disturbance begins, for the reason that they have helped to consolidate the common intent, and he who joins at the latest stage cannot escape liability by saying that he was no sharer in the original design.

The unlawfulness of a riot may be manifested in many ways:

The avowed object may be unlawful in the first instance, such as to damage property, or to commit a breach of the peace, if necessary to carry out the common design; or the object may be unlawful, such as to peacefully picket by persuasive means; or it may become unlawful by the use of either intimidation by which one may apprehend force, or by the actual use of force.

Numbers of people often meet under a common sense of injustice for the discussion of what they think to be an outrage, and in the heat of the moment are carried much further than they intended. Hence the origin, nature and development of the motives and actions require to be scrutinized when we wish to consider the question of riot as to its origin and common purpose.

While an essential ingredient in the offence of unlawful assembly is the apprehension or terror to third parties, it is not necessary that persons engaged in it should actually commit a breach of the peace. It is enough if they cause, not the nervous and weak-minded, but two or more persons

possessed of reasonable firmness to apprehend that a breach of the peace is likely to be committed, and is imminent, and even if two or more persons are reasonably alarmed, this is all that is needed to complete the ingredient of the offence.

Where the persons assembled with a view of not doing an unlawful act, but merely to display their numbers and power, the offence, if any thing, is rather that of an unlawful assembly than a riot; as, for example, where numbers of people go about with weapons in an unusual manner.

Where persons meet for a lawful purpose, and their purpose changes into an unlawful one, those who take part in the latter purpose are in the same position of guilt as if they had originally entertained such purpose.

But that kind of common purpose which distinguishes a riot is not to be confounded with the mere quarrel or fight between the parties themselves, in which case there may be an affray, but no riot.

The more frequent origin of a riot is the general sentiment that a public right has been invaded and requires to be vindicated by force of numbers and a species of physical intimidation.

THE DUTY OF THE CITIZEN

For the reasons already mentioned, the loyal citizen should avoid all crowds and assemblies except such as are constituted to preserve the law and order.

If, however, he sees any breach of the peace being committed, it is his right and his duty to either apprehend or to assist in apprehending the offender and to take him before the Magistrate *instantly*.

As Lord Mansfield said:

"Every individual in his private capacity may lawfully interfere to suppress a riot."

"Not only is he authorized to interfere for that purpose, but it is his duty to do so, and if called upon by a magistrate he is punishable in case of refusal."

(This is now so in case he is called upon by a constable, as will be later explained.)

"What any single individual may lawfully do for the prevention of crime and the preservation of the public peace may be done by any number assembled to perform their duty as citizens."

By the common law, every private person might lawfully, of his own authority and without any warrant or sanction of the magistrate, to suppress a riot by every means in his power.

He might disperse or assist in dispersing those who are assembled.

He might stay those who are engaged in it from executing their purpose.

He might stop and prevent others whom he saw coming up from joining the rest, and not only had he the authority, but he was bound under pain

of fine and imprisonment, when called upon by the Magistrate, to do his utmost in assisting him to suppress any tumultuous assembly.

If the riot was general and dangerous, he might arm himself against evil-doers to keep the peace.

These general rules of the common law have been little, if any, altered by the statutory provisions.

It is undoubtedly more prudent, however, for a private person not to act independently, but to act in combination with and in assistance of the constituted authorities, for in that way his services are more likely to be effective, and he will have the benefit of the judgment and observations of others also. Yet, whatever is honestly done by him in suppressing the assembly, will be supported and justified by the common law, and whether he is a private individual or a soldier, his duty is the same in this respect, for a soldier does not cease to be a citizen, though he is more likely to associate himself closely, as he ought to do, with those in authority and act under their specific instructions. An honest zeal in both, according to their separate ability, is a duty, and will be a sufficient protection in case of any accidental mistakes they may commit.

THE DUTY OF THE CONSTABLE

In addition to all the duties devolving upon a private citizen to prevent or arrest another caught in the act of committing a breach of the peace, it is the duty of the constable:

1. To apprehend rioters.
2. To endeavor to disperse all unlawful assemblies.
3. And in case of resistance to attack, to wound, or kill, if necessary, those who continue to resist; taking care not to commit unnecessary violence or to abuse the power legally vested in him.

An official who refuses to do his duty when it becomes apparent to his intelligence is not only unworthy to hold office, but is guilty of an offence against the common law.

See later as to the indictment of Mayors, etc.

THE RIOT ACT

It is the Duty of—

The Justice of the Peace,
The Magistrate,
The Mayor,
The Deputy Sheriff,
The Sheriff, and
The Judge

Who has notice that there are, within his jurisdiction, persons to the number of twelve or more unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled together

to the disturbance of the public peace, to resort to the place where such unlawful, riotous and tumultuous assembly is, and among the rioters, or as near to them as he can safely come with a loud voice to command or cause to be commanded silence, and after that openly and with loud voice to make or cause to be made a proclamation in these words or to the like effect:

"Our Sovereign Lord the King charges and commands all persons being assembled immediately to disperse and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, upon the pain of being guilty of an offence on conviction of which they may be sentenced to imprisonment for life.

GOD SAVE THE KING !"

Neglect to Read

Every of the officers above mentioned, who has notice that there is a riot within his jurisdiction, who, without reasonable excuse, omits to do his duty in suppressing such riot, is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to two years imprisonment.

If, on a riot taking place, a Magistrate neither reads the proclamation from the Act;

Nor restrains nor apprehends the rioters;

Nor performs generally the duties imposed upon him, this is *prima facie* evidence of a criminal neglect of duty in him, and it is no answer to the charge for him to say that he was afraid, unless his fear arose from such danger as would affect a firm man, and if, rather than apprehend the rioters, his sole care be for himself, this will also be criminal neglect.

The breach of duty imposed by the common law and by the statutes upon the officers already mentioned in connection with the Riot Act, constitutes an indictable offence, notable instances of which are found in the cases of the indictment of the Lord Mayor of London in 1780, and the Mayor of Bristol in 1832.

The common law being gathered into our present Code enacts positively as follows:

Sec. 93—"Duty and Powers of Officers:

1. "If the persons so unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled together, or twelve or more of them continue together, and do not disperse themselves, for the space of thirty minutes after the proclamation is made or after such hindrance as aforesaid, it is the duty of every such Sheriff, Justice and other Officer, and of all persons required by them to assist, to cause such persons to be apprehended and carried before a Justice.
2. "If any of the persons so assembled are killed or hurt in the apprehension of such persons or in the endeavor to apprehend or disperse them, by reason of their resistance, every person ordering them to be apprehended or dispersed, and every person executing such orders, are indemnified against all proceedings of every kind in respect thereof.

3. "Nothing in this section contained shall, in any way, limit or affect any duties or powers imposed or given by this Act as to the suppression of riots before or after the making of the said proclamation."

It is concise and express declaration of the duty of the officers specifically mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, a breach of which, under the common law, constitutes an indictable offence.

Penalty for Not Obeying the Proclamation

The Code expressly enacts that all persons are guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for life who,

1. Oppose or hinder the making of the Proclamation, or
2. Exceeding twelve, continue together for thirty minutes after the proclamation, and that if they do so continue and do not disperse themselves after thirty minutes, they may be apprehended and carried before the Magistrate, or may be killed or hurt if they resist, for which any person so killing or hurting them is fully indemnified by the law.

The Duty of the Magistrate, Including the Mayor and the Judge

Under the English Law, when a tumult or riot was APPREHENDED, it was the duty of the Justice to select constables; and by the law they were compelled to serve. These were called Special Constables. It became the settled law that where two or more Justices, on the oath of a credible witness, were satisfied that a tumult had taken place, or MIGHT BE REASONABLY APPREHENDED, such Justices might nominate and appoint as many as they thought fit of those not legally exempt from serving, to the office of Constable. Such persons acted as Special Constables so long as the Justice thought fit for the preservation of the public peace.

This is also the law in Canada, and every Justice, being a representative of His Majesty, must without question perform his duty.

Under our Code the term "Justice" includes everyone having the authority of two Justices of the Peace, and includes a Police Magistrate and every Judge.

Under the Manitoba Laws the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may also appoint such number of Special Constables "as to him shall seem expedient."

This has evidently been adopted from the English Law, which provides that the Secretary of the State may do likewise.

Magistrates

In Manitoba, while the law specially provides for the appointment and removal of Magistrates, there is no legislation in any way limiting or altering the English rule as to the extent of their duty and power.

Damage to Property by Riot

The common law and the old statute law have been grouped together in sections 96 and 97 of the Code, whereby with regard to destruction of buildings it is provided that when such destruction is occasioned by those gathered in unlawful assembly, that all such persons are guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for life; and where the building is merely damaged, such persons are liable to seven years imprisonment.

THE DUTY OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

By the B.N.A. Act, section 92, there is thrown upon the Provincial Government the duty of administration of justice within the Province, and for the imposition of punishment by fine, penalty or imprisonment, for enforcing any law of the Province made by it.

For the purpose, therefore, of administering the civil and criminal law, and of protecting its own dignity, as representing His Majesty, it is well settled that the Province has been equipped with full power of police within its own jurisdiction.

The machinery for supplying this police is ample, both with regard to the English Law, which in this respect is applicable here, and under those powers which rest in the Executive by reason of the Manitoba Statute, cap. 37, R. S. M. 1913, whereby His Majesty, by His Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, may appoint a Chief of Police and such other Special Constables "as to him shall seem expedient," and make regulations concerning the same.

Whenever peace and order is threatened, it is plainly the duty of the Provincial Government, acting in this respect on behalf of His Majesty the King, to apprehend all offenders and see that justice is administered. It is neither necessary nor desirable to await until destruction commences; such action may lead to an unfortunate belief in the impotence of the authorities, and may encourage that portion of the public which is discontinued to a breach of the peace that may have serious and fatal consequences.

The Magistrate, the Mayor or the Judge who does not do his duty is indicted. The duty of the Government is no less than that of its agents to administer the law.

So long as the present constitution continues; so long as the laws are made in pursuance of that constitution; just that long may an offence against the laws be punished. While the present constitution and present laws are

in force, it is the duty of the Government, as well as the Magistrate, to see that they are enforced; the neglect of which may constitute, as it does in the case of a Mayor who does not read the Riot Act, criminal negligence, and while it would be futile to say that the Government would be thus punished as the Mayor, criminal neglect to duty in a high executive power must bring in some way or other its own punishment.

Since 1215 an Englishman has, in theory, been free; but by the voice of autocratic dictatorship, which only bore the semblance of properly constituted authority, the freedom of the Englishman was more or less of a farce until 200 years ago; since when such freedom has been established upon a solid foundation. That foundation was a constitution which was laid seven centuries ago, and which was not completed until William, Prince of Orange, came to England.

An action from which it may be apprehended that this Constitution and this form of Government is to be attacked must be an occasion for the performance by this Government of its full and unquestioned duty to protect its laws and its own dignity, and thus to protect the subject, by retaining for him that Constitution which for 200 years has been the wonder of the world and the proudest boast of the Englishman.

THE DUTY OF THE SOLDIER

Ever since the RIOT ACT was passed in England great jealousy has been shown by the people as to the interference of the military, and as the reign of severity often begins with this last extremity in the proceedings, it has been too often the habit, even of legislators, to denounce without thought this step as if it were an invasion of popular right and an affront upon all the peaceably inclined. But several great authorities have from time to time corrected this delusion, and shown that military assistance is a natural step in the development of all riotous assemblies, and instead of aggravating the evil, seldom fails to cure it when judiciously handled. When society has been resolved into first principals, a resort to the strongest and sharpest weapon of self-defence is dictated by the voice of nature itself. Soldiers are merely citizens, who by their profession are trained to act in unison, and to bring the maximum of physical force to bear at any critical moment, when force is everything. And as all citizens are amenable to the call of the magistrate, it is natural and inevitable that they, as the strongest citizens for the moment, should be required in their turn to act, or be welcomed when they come without being required. Yet they must always act on the same principle as all other citizens must act, namely, when they repel force they must repel it by just sufficient force and no more to overcome the resistance offered. When that is the rule observed, it can be of no consequence what is the weapon used, or how many kinds of weapons of varied strength one after the other, so long as each in succession is not used a moment too soon.

Lord Hardwicke said, (Sec. 9, Parl. Hist. 1294):—

"Our soldiers are our fellow-citizens. They do not cease to be so by putting on a red coat and carrying a musket. It is well known that magistrates have a power to call any subject of the King to their assistance to prepare the peace and to execute the process of the law. The subject who neglects such a call is liable to be indicted, and being convicted, to be fined and imprisoned for his offence. Why, then, may not the civil magistrate call soldiers to his assistance as well as other men? While the King's troops act under the direction of the magistrate we are as much under civil government as if there were not a soldier in the island of Great Britain. The calling in of these armed citizens often saves the effusion of innocent blood and preserves the dominion of the law."

Lord Loughborough said, (Sec. 21, St. Tr. 493):

"It has been imagined that because the law allows an hour for the dispersion of a mob to whom the Riot Act has been read by the Magistrate, the better to support the civil authority, that during this period of time the magistracy are disarmed, and the King's subjects, whose duty it is at all times to suppress riots, are to remain quiet and passive. No such meaning was within the view of the legislature; nor does the construction of the Act warrant any such notion. Magistrates are left in possession of those powers, which the law had given them before; if the mob collectively, or a part of it, or any individual within and before the expiration of that hour attempts or begins to perpetrate an outrage amounting to felony, it is the duty of all present, of whatever description they may be, to endeavor, by the most effectual means, to stop the mischief and to apprehend the offender."

Lord Mansfield said; (Sec. 21, Parl. Hist. 688):

"Much mischief has arisen from a misconception of the Riot Act, which enacts that, after proclamation made that persons present at a riotous assembly shall depart to their homes, those who remain there above an hour afterwards shall be guilty of felony and shall be liable to suffer death. From this it has been imagined that the military cannot act, whatever crimes may be committed in their sight, till an hour after such a proclamation has been made, or, as it is termed, the Riot Act is read. But the Riot Act only introduces a new offence, remaining an hour after the proclamation, without qualifying any pre-existing law, or abridging the means which before existed for preventing or punishing crimes."

Tindal, C. J., said, (See. R. V. Pinney, 5 c. and P. 263):—

"The law acknowledges no distinction between the soldier and the private individual. The soldier is still a citizen, lying under the same obligation, and invested with the same authority to preserve the peace of the King as any other subject. If the one is bound to attend the call of the civil magistrate, so is the other. If the one may interfere for that purpose when the occasion demands it without the requisition of the magistrate, so may the other too. If the one may employ arms for that purpose when arms are necessary, the soldier may do the same. Undoubtedly the same exercise of discretion, which requires

the private subject to act in subordination to, and in aid of, the magistrate, rather than upon his own authority, before recourse is had to arms, ought to operate in a still stronger degree with a military force."

The general principles above enunciated have not been materially modified by the Militia Act, cap. 41, R.S.C. 1906.

Under section 68 of the Act the Militia may be called for military purposes other than drill or training.

Section 125 establishes the duty of every man and officer to obey.

AID TO CIVIL POWER

Sections 80 to 90 deal with this matter:

80. Militia may be called to suppress riot or disturbance of the peace when in the opinion of the civil authority such occurs or is anticipated as likely to occur, if beyond the power of the civil authorities to suppress or to prevent or deal with.

81. The D.O.C. shall call out such portion of the Active Militia as he considers necessary for the purpose of preventing or suppressing any such actual or anticipated riot or disturbance, when required in writing by the civil authority; but in so far as the Permanent Force is available, such force shall be used before recourse is had to Militia Corps.

82. In the first instance the Mayor, or acting head of the municipality, together with two Justices of the Peace should, by requisition in writing, require the active militia or such necessary portion thereof to be so called out. In the event of the Mayor or acting head refusing to act, he may be indicated, and the County Court or District Court Judge having jurisdiction in such place, acting alone, may so call out the active militia. But, if there is no such County Court Judge, then any Judge of a Superior Court having jurisdiction in such place may perform like duty.

85. Where the requisition is made by a Judge any statements of fact therein shall be final and binding upon all parties in any way concerned. Any statement of fact therein contained shall not be open to dispute by the officer upon whom the requisition is made.

86. Provides the form of the requisition.

87. Provides that in every such requisition in writing it shall be stated that a riot or disturbance has occurred or is anticipated, and that the services of the active militia is required in aid of the civil power.

88. Provides that all officers and men shall, without further formal proceedings, be special constables, liable only to obey, however, the orders of their militia superior officer; and that every officer and man so called out shall at all times obey the orders of his superior officer.

SUPPRESSION OF RIOTS

Generally—See following sections of Criminal Code:

48. Sheriff, Mayor, etc., justified.
49. Every one acting under orders not manifestly unlawful is protected.
50. A citizen, acting *bona fide* with insufficient time to summon authorities, is justified in using the necessary force to suppress a riot, where he believes on reasonable grounds that danger may be apprehended.
51. Soldier is justified in obeying superior officer *unless* such order is manifestly unlawful.

See also useful notes in Crankshaw following these sections.

CONSTABLE, ETC.

NEGLIGENCES OF OFFICERS

4. Blackstone, 140.
9. Halsbury, p. 474.
1. Paterson, 231.

